

# "NO MERCHANDISE OF HUMAN BLOOD!"

(Continued from First Page.)

ural and necessary complement. The spirit which will justify the forcible annexation of the Philippine islands will justify the seizure of other islands and the domination of other people, and with wars of conquest we can expect a constant if not rapid growth of our military establishment.

That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by the Republican leaders is not a mere matter of conjecture, but a matter of fact. In his message of Dec. 1, 1898, the President asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1899 the army contained about 25,000 men.

Within two years the President asked for four times that many, and a Republican House of Representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed and when not a hand was raised against the United States in any part of the world. If such an army is demanded when an imperial policy is contemplated, but not openly avowed, what may be expected if the people encourage the Republican party by endorsing its policy at the polls?

## BIG ARMY A MENACE.

A large standing army is not only a permanent burden to the people and, if accompanied by compulsory service, a constant source of irritation, but it is ever a menace to a republican form of government. The army is the personification of force, and militarism will inevitably change the ideas of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the ways of peace to the science of war. The Government which relies for its defense upon its citizens is more likely to be just than one which has at all a large body of professional soldiers.

Militarism turns our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. Small army is sufficient.

## REPUBLIC OR MONARCHY.

The whole difference between a monarchy and a republic may be summed up in one sentence. In a monarchy the king gives to the people what he believes to be a good government; in a republic the people secure for themselves what they believe to be a good government. The Republican party has accepted the European idea and planned its policy upon the basis of a monarchy.

The Republican platform promises that some measure of self-government is to be given to the Philippines by law; but even this pledge is not fulfilled. Nearly sixteen months elapsed after the ratification of the treaty before the adjournment of Congress last June and yet no law was passed dealing with the Philippine situation. The will of the President has been the only law in the Philippine islands wherever the American authority extends.

Why does the Republican party hesitate to legislate upon the Philippines question? Because it would disclose the radical departure from history and precedent contemplated by those who control the Republican party.

The return of power which greeted the Porto Rican bill was an indication of what may be expected when the American people are brought face to face with legislation upon this subject. If the Porto Ricans, who welcome annexation, are to be denied the guarantees of our Constitution, what is to be the lot of the Philippines, who resisted our authority? If secret influences could compel a disregard of our plain duty toward friendly people living near our shores, what treatment will those same influences provide for unfriendly people 7,000 miles away?

## CANNOT BUY TITLE TO PEOPLE.

What is our title to the Philippine Islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest? Did we buy them or did we take them? Did we purchase the people? If not, how did we secure title to them? Were they thrown in with the land? Will the Republicans say that inanimate earth has value, and when that earth is moulded by the Divine Hand and stamped with the likeness of the Creator it becomes a fixture and passes with the soil?

If Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is impossible to secure title to people either by force or by purchase. We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we had title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we made allies of the Villages and armed them to fight against Spain we disputed Spain's title. If we buy Spain's title we are not innocent purchasers. But even if we had not disputed Spain's title she could transfer no greater title than she had, and her title was based on force alone.

We cannot defend such a title, but as Spain gave us a quit claim deed we can honorably turn the property over to the party in possession. Whether any American official gave the Philippines formal assurance of independence is not material. There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the services of the Philippines, and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence, and I submit that history furnishes no example of a more flagrant wrong than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke.

Let us consider briefly the reasons which have been given in support of an imperialistic policy. Some say that it is our duty to hold the Philippine Islands, but it is not an argument. It is a conclusion. To ascertain what our duty is, in

any emergency, we must apply well-settled and generally accepted principles. It is our duty to avoid creating no matter whether the thing to be stolen is of great or little value. It is our duty to avoid killing a human being, no matter where the human being lives or to what race or class he belongs. Every one recognizes the obligation imposed upon individuals to observe both the human and moral law, but as some deny the application of those laws to nations, it may not be out of place to quote the opinion of others. Jefferson, than whom there is no higher political authority, said:

## CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It is argued by some that the Philippines are incapable of self-government and that therefore we owe it to the world to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, in an official report to the Navy Department, declared the Philippines more capable of self-government than the Cubans, and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Philippines. Henry Clay, in defending the rights of the people of South America to self-government, said:

"It is the doctrine of thoroughness in the art of self-government, that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the peace and cheapness of commodities, and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise."

I place the philosophy of Franklin against the world doctrine of those who would put a price upon the life of an American soldier and justify a war of conquest upon the ground that it will pay. The Democratic party is in favor of the expansion of trade. It would extend our trade by every legitimate and peaceful means, but it is not willing to make merchandise of human blood.

But a war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous. A harbor and coal station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity, and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty.

because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty others have fought for it; because our Constitution was adopted, other constitutions have been adopted.

The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapon of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this Republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

The argument of the last Republican National Convention presented the legendary argument in all its badness when he said:

"We make no hypocritical pretenses of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of these people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and Constitution we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and open new markets."

This is the commercial argument. It is based upon the theory that war can be rightly waged for pecuniary advantage, and that it is profitable to purchase trade by force and violence. Franklin denied both of these propositions. When Lord Howe asserted that the acts of Parliament which brought on the Revolution were necessary to prevent American trade from passing into foreign channels, Franklin replied:

"To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the peace and cheapness of commodities, and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise."

## WHO WOULD GET THE PROFITS?

Imperialism would be profitable to the army contractors; it would be profitable to the ship-owners who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchise, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries would be fixed here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laboring man and to the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes and, under systems which place the tax upon consumption, pay more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it.

In addition to the evils which he and the farmer share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if Oriental subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital leaves our shores to employ Oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit breeds, and the first to suffer from the methods of repression which are applied to our own government.

It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

The peculiar argument, though more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much emphasis as the religious argument. If what has been termed the "cup-of-water gospel" were used against the Philippines only, it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Philippines are now members of one branch of the Christian Church; but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration.

## CHRISTIANITY BY FORCE.

The religious argument varies in pestilence from a passive belief that Providence delivered the Philippines into our hands, for their good and our glory, to the exaltation of the minister who said we ought to "thrash the natives (Philippines) until they understand who we are," and that "every bullet sent, every cannon shot and every flag waved means righteousness."

We cannot approve of this doctrine in one place unless we are willing it apply it everywhere. If there is poison in the blood it will ultimately reach the heart. It is equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon the American soil. If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives the teachings of Christ, who will say that we are commanded to "civilize" with dynamite and proselytize with the sword? He who will declare the Divine will must prove his authority either by Holy Writ or by evidence of a special dispensation.

Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering armies they are going forth to help and to uplift, having their loins girded about with truth and their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, wearing the breast-plate of righteousness and carrying the sword of the Spirit; let it be known that they are the citizens of a nation which respects the rights of the citizens of other nations as carefully as it protects the rights of its own citizens, and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extended to the missionaries of any other nation.

## PLEDGES FREEDOM TO FILIPINOS.

If elected he will convene Congress and give the Philippine natives their independence on the same terms as the Cubans.

The argument made by some that it was unfortunate for the nation that it had anything to do with the Philippine Islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary, is also unsound.

The victory at Santiago did not compel us to hold Cuba. The shedding of American blood in the Philippine Islands does not make it imperative that we should retain possession forever. American blood was shed at San Juan Hill and at El Caney, and yet the President has promised the Cubans independence. The fact that the American flag floats over Manila does not compel us to exercise perpetual sovereignty over the islands; that flag waves over Havana today, but the President has promised to haul it down when the flag of the Cuban republic is ready to rise in its place. Better a thousand times that our flag in the Orient give way to a flag representing the idea of self-government than that the flag of this Republic should become the flag of an empire.

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the Democratic platform and it is submitted with confidence to the American people. This plan I unreservedly endorse.

If elected, I shall convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as I am inaugurated, and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in the island of Cuba; second, to give independence to the Philippines, just as we have promised to give independence to the Cubans. Third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America, and are, by the Monroe Doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba.

## "DESTINY" ONLY A SUBTERFUGE.

When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny, and insist that we must submit to it, no matter how much it violates moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterates the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstances.

Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebrate, who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. Washington said that the destiny of the republican form of government was deeply, if not finally, stake on the experiment entrusted to the American people. How different Washington's definition of destiny from the Republican definition!

The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Washington was right. The destiny of this Republic is in the hands of its own people.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of to-day and measures up to the possibilities of the future.

Behold a Republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by Revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a Republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a Republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor, and in which the law restrains every hand which would injure a neighbor's injury—a Republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, not in which no one cares to wear a crown.

Behold a Republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a Republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a Republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a Republic which strikes through and solves aspirations by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who are in darkness.

Behold a Republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted center of the world's attention—a Republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more into the perfect day."

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